

20¢ MAY 1, 1950

New Republic

THE RIGHT WAY TO BEAT COMMUNISM

By MICHAEL STRAIGHT

PEPPER vs. SMATHERS

By BERT COLLIER

DIXIECRATS HELPED BY THE HIGH COURT

By JEAN BEGEMAN

**HAROLD L. ICKES:
DULLES, THE "INDISPENSABLE"**

New Republic Editor on Tour

Schedule April 30-May 20

☐ MICHAEL STRAIGHT, Editor of the *New Republic*, is now on a coast-to-coast speaking tour.

☐ The tour was arranged by the American Veterans Committee, but he will be speaking on national and international issues before open meetings, town-hall forums, trade-union locals, student gatherings and luncheons and dinners organized by *New Republic* readers. One of his main purposes is to meet and talk to our readers and to gather editorial material for the magazine.

☐ Further details for those who can attend the meetings or arrange further discussions can be obtained from the *New Republic*, 40 East 49 Street, New York 17, or from local AVC Chairmen whose names and addresses are given below.

Los Angeles - Sunday, April 30 to Wednesday, May 3

Mr. Loren Grey, Chairman AVC
3542 Moore Street, Venice, California
Meetings scheduled: May 1, 12 noon, Town Hall luncheon, Biltmore Hotel; 6 PM radio interview, Town Hall, KFI; May 2, 10 AM Glover's Clothing School; 11 AM California School of Photography, auspices Wendell Willkie Chapter; 12 noon, luncheon community leaders; 3:15 PM talk, University of Southern California; May 3 talk at UCLA; 12 noon labor luncheon; 7 PM banquet, Hollywood Athletic Club.

San Francisco - Thursday, May 4 to Saturday, May 6

Mr. Erwin Klaus, Chairman AVC
155 Montgomery Street
Meetings scheduled: May 4, 6:30 PM, AVC dinner at Marines Memorial Club, 609 Sutter Street; May 5, 12 noon, Commonwealth Club of California, Palace Hotel; May 5, 7 PM, San Francisco Press Club, 449 Powell Street.

Portland, Ore. - Monday, May 8 and Tuesday, May 9

Mr. George Dysart, Chairman AVC
2133 N. E. 13th Avenue
Meetings scheduled: May 8, 6:30 PM, VE Day Banquet, Hotel Nortonia; May 9, 10 AM, AVC Freedom Award Reed College Assembly; 12 noon, Junior Chamber of Commerce, Hotel Multnomah.

Seattle, Wash. - Wednesday, May 10 and Thursday, May 11

Mr. Jay Sykes, Chairman AVC
4518-17th Avenue, N. E.
Meetings scheduled: May 10, 6:30 PM, AVC Banquet, Meany Hotel; 8:30 PM, meeting with AVC and ADA and guests, Meany Hotel; May 11, 11 AM, speech before student body of University of Washington.

Milwaukee, Wisc. - Monday, May 15

Mr. Robert Landry, Chairman AVC
212 West Wisconsin Avenue
Meetings scheduled: 12 noon, luncheon, Pabst Hall; 6:30 PM, banquet at City Club, Mayor Frank P. Zeidler and guests.

Madison, Wisc. - Tuesday, May 16

Mr. Robert Hulder, Chairman AVC
1920 Vilas Avenue
Meetings scheduled: Luncheon and dinner meetings with guests; 8 PM, radio speech.

Chicago, Ill. - Thursday, May 18

Mr. Lyle Gumm, Chairman AVC
5345 Harper Avenue
Meeting scheduled: May 18, Evening meeting, University of Chicago Quadrangle Club.

Minneapolis-St. Paul - Friday, May 19 and Saturday, May 20

Mr. Robert Barrie, Chairman AVC
610 West Franklin Avenue
Meetings scheduled: May 19, 6:30 PM, public banquet, Coffman Memorial Union, University of Minnesota campus; May 20, Convention of Minnesota State AVC Council in St. Paul.

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WASHINGTON WIRE

ON MAY 7, Our Harry starts off on his political "non-political" tour, launching the great 1950 Congressional campaign. His slogans are prosperity, the full-dinner-pail, unified foreign policy and Love for the Little Man. Love for the little man showed up better late than never in Truman's hesitant veto of the Kerr bill, which would have boosted gas prices for city dwellers. Without the prestige of such a veto, Truman might as well have stayed home.

The Kerr veto battle isn't won, though. Keep your eye on the Federal Power Commission—the five-man board from which the oil and gas interests knocked Leland Olds last year. The FPC is the policeman to enforce regulation. Three board members are on the liberal side, two on the Kerr side. Truman's man, Mon Wallgren, is counted on the liberal side but might slip over to the fuel interests if a tip came from the White House as the result of a compensatory deal with Kerr. The term of the pro-Kerr chairman, Nelson Smith, expires June 22. Truman *could* replace him with a man of the Olds type. That would be real love of the Little Man.

Just about the last week of the Truman trip, as we figure it, he is going to be presented with the \$1.5 billion omnibus rivers-and-harbors "pork-barrel" bill. We can't think of anything that would make him more votes, expose hypocritical "economy" more thoroughly and raise more hell generally than a good, ringing veto of this outrageous bill. What's more, we have a hunch he may do it. Paul Douglas spoke against it for two days in the Senate, revealing the hunks of political pork in this bill. The "economy bloc" gave him practically no help. They gave him mock cheers when he finished. Why? Because they want economy in *social-welfare* legislation—not pork.

At the risk of sounding profound for a minute, let's go over this situation. We're in an enormously expensive cold war. Extravagant federal expenditures are supporting the whole economy. (If

Russia made peace now, it would probably ruin us; if she had gone along with us from Hitler's capitulation, we would probably be broke and isolationist too!) Every sign indicates that cold-war expenses will mount. It's impossible to balance the budget by so-called "economies" (which are largely a drive by the Haves to reduce social security for the Have-nots). This means that there will either be higher taxes (which there

should be), or growing deficits, as at present. Instead of increasing taxes as Truman urges, the House is busy clawing off excise levies. The Post Office very sensibly showed

what reduced expenditures mean by curtailing domestic deliveries. (The cost of subsidies on second and third-class mail is so big that you are going to have only one delivery a day from now on.) It is dangerous to let the national deficit mount so rapidly, yet how many newspaper publishers suggest higher taxes?

We listened to Louis Budenz last week. He seemed like a sincere convert trying to expiate 10 years of "sin" as a Communist. Born a Catholic, he left the Church for another authoritarian dogma; then after 10 years of Communism became an apostate a second time and rejoined his first faith. From the Bible down, Prodigal Sons have had a certain glamor. Budenz's testimony can't be brushed off. We appraise him as an earnest man who sees in blacks and whites, and believes Lattimore is a "concealed Communist." Budenz had unusual opportunities to know Communists. We imagine he made a good one. He likes authoritarianism. When the party line said the Chinese Reds were good, anyone who said the opposite was bad; now that Budenz has a new kind of party line, anybody who says Chiang is a poor risk must be a Communist.

Budenz's testimony was hearsay, but it was strong hearsay evidence, as Elmer Davis remarked. It went farther than we had expected. If it hadn't been for the Hiss conviction not much attention would be given to it, even so. Senator



Joseph R. McCarthy grabbed the chance to assail General George C. Marshall, as well as Dean Acheson. Simultaneously Budenz introduced a new gimmick—guilt by non-association. Does it prove that a man isn't a Communist if he raised funds for Finland against Russia? Not at all, says Budenz; doubtless Lattimore had "dispensation" for that. How about Lattimore's support of the Marshall Plan? More "dispensation" (a significantly theological term). Furthermore, said Budenz with an injured air, the CP line now is to sue you for libel if you call them "Communists." With tests like this to go on, half the American people will begin suspecting the other half. That's exactly what Stalin wants, we assume.

Seeking bipartisanship in foreign affairs, the Administration touched Senator Styles Bridges on the shoulder last week, carried him to the top of a tall mountain, and tempted him sorely. The most fascinating thing in Washington now is Bridges wrestling with this extraordinary temptation. "Look, Styles," Messrs. Truman and Acheson said in effect, "you can become the new Vandenberg of the Senate. *You* can be the Big Man. Vandenberg (remember?) was an isolationist before he decided to be a statesman. Now you can make the switch, too. Colleges will give you honorary degrees. You can be In The Know and give little exclusives to the *New York Times*. Your social career is made, too; who knows, maybe Mrs. Bridges will be presented at Court? All you have to do is stop being a bitter partisan hatchetman and put statesmanship first." What a temptation! Anyone knowing the man must pity him. Reviewing Bridges' past record, we can't imagine how it will turn out.

Notes. European visitors are amazed at US poise in the latest Soviet crisis; filled with the theory of hysterical, trigger-happy Americans, they are marveling at the restraint they find. Query: Why are we childish over McCarthy, grown-up toward real danger? . . . Taft's flirtation with McCarthy gives the GOP Eisenhower boom new impetus. . . . Rent-control extension for six months, then death, seems likely.
Washington

T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Feudalism and Fascism

SIR: Alexander Uhl's adulatory review of del Vayo's book (the *NR*, April 3) quotes approvingly del Vayo's statement that "I still believe that one of Moscow's chief objectives has been the destruction of fascism and feudalism."

The essence of Fascism is denial of civil rights to the individual and destruction of political democracy by abolishing all rights of free speech, press and assembly, and the right to hold elections after free discussion and with competing candidates. But that is precisely what Communism does. So Moscow's alleged destruction of Fascism amounts in fact to adoption of the central feature and distinguishing characteristic of Fascism. Also, the term "fascist" when used by a Communist only means someone with whom the Communist disagrees. For example, Roosevelt was called a social-fascist in 1932, and Tito is called a fascist today, although he was regarded as a stout fighter against Fascism as long as he was subservient to Stalin.

The essence of feudalism is dependence of the man who works the land upon the lord or overlord who has control of it, and the worker's being bound to the land, unable to leave it without permission. The present Russian policy is to force independent peasant producers, who have at least some minimum of economic independence, into collective farms where they are dependent on the state or on state-controlled co-operatives for a job as landless farm laborers, and they are not allowed to leave their jobs without government permission. . . .

On both issues the position and power of Moscow is a reactionary one. Thus Mr. del Vayo's attempt to justify Russia to himself and his readers is purely wishful thinking in view of the actual policy of the present Communist dictators.

New York City ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

SIR: I had not expected, of course, that my review of del Vayo's *The Last Optimist* would find universal approval. But I must confess that I am surprised to be criticized for quoting him to the effect that the Russians were and are anti-fascist. Mr. Lewis has adopted the easy formula of equating Fascism and Communism. I doubt if the equation is quite so simple. The anti-democratic features that are common to Fascism and Communism are also common to all authoritarian and dictatorial regimes, but that does not necessarily equate them. I recognize that the Communists abuse the word "fascist," but I am quite sure that when del Vayo used "fascism and feudalism," he was not using them carelessly, but in their very real meanings, meanings which are not

likely to be lost on those who have lived in fascist or feudalistic states.

Mr. Lewis also equates the lot of the landless peasant in a feudal state with that of the Russian peasant under collectivization. He confines his argument to the small landowner who finds collectivization abhorrent. I can understand that well enough, but I am far from convinced that the lot of the landless peasant on a collectivized farm is equivalent to that of the landless peasant in the Spanish latifundia. At any rate it seems to me that we can fight Fascism for the evil it contains and Communism for the evil that it contains. But it seems a sad waste of time to engage in semantic exercises designed to prove that they are one and the same thing. I wish that Mr. Lewis had had the self-discipline to omit the word "adulatory." His argument then would have had much more impact.

Washington, D. C. ALEXANDER H. UHL

Landmark

SIR: For many years a fight has been going on to preserve the old values of Washington Square. Unfortunately, the tradition-laden houses on the south side of the Square have been destroyed. Now the north side is menaced.

The first inroads have been made . . . through the purchase of the old Rhinelander buildings by a realtor who proposes to erect a towering apartment house. Washington Arch will be dwarfed out of all semblance of beauty and dignity. And when once this pompous twelve-story building, running back as far as Eighth Street, dominates the corner of the Square, what chance is there that the remainder of the block, with its lovely old façade, can escape demolition?

Washington Square is . . . a precious historical and architectural heritage not only for New Yorkers but for the thousands of tourists from every part of the United States and from abroad who year after year seek out these reminders of the charm of the New York of long ago.

We who are tenants of the Rhinelander buildings of course would like to preserve our homes. But we are equally concerned with preserving this testimony to the beauty of a New York of an earlier day. To this end we are now working with the several groups of public-spirited citizens who have come forward to protest the needless vandalism. We would like to have the Rhinelander House designated a monument and maintained as a proof of the gracious living of our illustrious past. . . . It is our hope that by gathering together expressions of interest from representative citizens, we may be able to hold fast to these precious reminders of old New York. . . . Our committee's address is 14 Washington Square North.

NATHANIEL M. ELIAS, Chairman,
The Washington Square Committee
New York City



THIS YEAR'S ELECTION PROSPECTS

THE SIZE of President Truman's political task in 1950 is matched only by the ebullience of spirit with which he approaches it. On the eve of the first significant primaries of this year and his departure on his opening campaign tour, he appears confident and serene. Perhaps the President has a political secret that we don't know. He did in 1948. But to the ordinary eye, 1950 appears full of snares for the Democrats. The continued obtuseness of the Republicans and the number of young and vigorous candidates running on Fair Deal tickets are the only outstanding assets Truman's party brings to the elections. On the other side are these facts: the Republicans and Dixiecrats have the offensive, the 81st Congress has produced almost nothing to which the Administration can point with pride, the ridiculous custom of keeping hands off party primaries is hurting the chances of many liberal Democrats, and unemployment is weakening large segments of labor.

The primaries next week in Florida, Alabama and Ohio will give some important clues to the power of the opposition. The public appeal of the "Red" issue is being tested in the vicious attempt by Representative George Smathers to smear Florida's Senior Senator, Claude Pepper. The pulse of the Dixiecrat movement is being taken in Senator Lister Hill's attempt to recapture control of the Alabama Democratic machinery for the national Administration. The strength shown by Senator Robert A. Taft in Ohio will determine to what extent "Freedom vs. Socialism" becomes the main theme of GOP contests nationally.

The Republican strategy apparently is to continue with cries of Communism as led by Senator Joseph McCarthy, so long as they are listened to, and to return to milder charges of Socialism *à la* Taft if and when the Red issue loses its punch. One purpose of the President's tour is to plumb the public reaction to these attacks to date. What he learns will shape the counterattack in the campaign.

The Democrats are resigned to a miserable showing on the Congressional score card. Chances are now that when this Congress adjourns, its sole contribution to the direct welfare of the general population will be added social-security benefits. This makes it essential for the President to repeat his program loudly and often between now and November.

The speeches that have been prepared for the coming Western trip follow this general line. The President

again will bear down on the need for economic development, for expansion of power and industrial capacity, for an agricultural program that will help consumers as well as farmers. But on one vital matter, the Administration is not on record with any plan of action that is at all adequate. Surely his visits with the American people next month will convince the President that talk about how much better off we are as a nation than we have ever been before is not comforting to the 4.5 million unemployed among us. As of now, there is no plan for a special Presidential message on unemployment before Congress adjourns for the year. The President's cabinet has told him that the unemployment situation is unfortunate but not dangerous. Unhappily, even his Secretary of Labor pays more attention to the high level of the stock market than to his own statistics. These show that there are now 43 cities and towns in which more than 12 percent of the working population are unemployed. In half of the 100 major labor markets of the country, more than seven percent are unemployed. The number of men and women who have been out of work for three months or longer has risen steadily until there are now more than four times as many long-time unemployed as there were in October, 1948.

To make the 82nd Congress a real improvement over the 81st, the Democrats need to elect a minimum of 25 Fair Dealers to the House and six to the Senate. The 1948 election gave Truman, on paper, a 12-vote margin in the Senate and a majority of 92 in the House. That meant that the Administration could not afford to lose more than seven Democratic votes on any issue in the Senate or more than 47 Democratic votes in the House. But in the first session of the 81st Congress, the Administration was defeated 19 times because of Democratic defections—on such issues as rent control, the Brannan Plan, minimum-wage legislation, and a substitute for Taft-Hartley. In this session, the Democrats have lost—for the same reason—on 11 occasions, including roll calls on middle-income housing, the FEPC, and natural-gas regulation.

The Southerners were the chief offenders, of course. The seven Democratic Senators who have voted against their own party most often are Southerners. About half of the 118 Southern Democrats in the House vote consistently on the side of the Republicans. The Truman

program will not go through until at least 25 more votes are added for the President's side. Some changes for the better in Southern representation appear likely this year, but no credit for this goes to the Democratic National Committee or to the President.

The big gains are being sought outside the South. The points for concentration are the 124 Congressional Districts which were carried by a margin of less than five percent of the votes in 1948—a far larger number than usual. Fifty-nine of these are Democratic seats which the Republicans are eyeing hungrily and which the Truman Administration must fight hard to defend. The best hope for Democratic additions is in the 64 marginal seats now held by Republicans, mainly in the Middle West. Eight of the Republican Senators who are up for reelection in November come from this area. Homer E. Capehart (Ind.), Forrest C. Donnell (Mo.), Chan Gurney (S. D.), Bourke B. Hickenlooper (Iowa), Harry Darby (Kans.), Taft (Ohio), Alexander Wiley (Wis.) and Milton R. Young (N. D.) offer vulnerable targets. In Ohio there was no intelligent Democratic planning, and the confusion of Democratic candidates has benefited Taft. A similar wasted opportunity seems likely in Indiana and threatens in Wisconsin and Missouri.

The May 14 rally of the whole Democratic Party in Chicago can give strength to these Midwest campaigns by bringing out the common issues involved and laying down a common line of attack. Issues are usually much better understood in Presidential years than in mid-term elections. The idea behind the first informal biennial convention of a major party might change all that. Truman's speech at Chicago can be as important to the 1950

results as was his fighting speech of acceptance at the Philadelphia convention. Perhaps his plans in this respect are the source of the deep confidence he feels.

The traditional lethargy of off-year elections, usually bad news for the Democrats, and the dampening effects of unemployment on labor's political activity will be hard to offset. It is basic politics, as well as liberalism, for the President to come forward before Congress adjourns with a detailed plan for emergency help to the jobless and longer-range plans for expansion to take care of the future.

The honest as well as the politic explanation for the President to give regarding the 81st Congress is that he was in a minority, that the Fair Deal program was knifed by "Democrats" as often as by Republicans. After he draws this clear line between the friends and the enemies of the Fair Deal in both parties, it will be much simpler to take the next logical step to make primaries as well as general elections the business of the Democratic National Committee and of himself. It will be too late to do what should have been done to help Pepper and Senator Frank Graham of North Carolina, whose primaries have passed, but in the dozens of other important primary selections to be made later in the summer and fall, the National Committee should be free to work openly for the candidate whose aims are closest to those of the Administration.

"The Democratic Party is a national party and not a sectional party any more," Truman told his fellow Democrats after the great victory of 1948. "The tail no longer wags the dog." The kind of campaign he wages this year will show how much that means.

THE WEEK

ACHESON ON MCCARTHY

Secretary Dean Acheson's off-the-record speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors (later released for publication) was far more forceful and telling than the carefully prepared "major foreign policy address" which preceded it. For 40 minutes after completing his scheduled speech, Acheson held 300 of the nation's leading editors spellbound as he tore into his enemies. Senator Joseph McCarthy sat motionless in the audience while the Secretary angrily denounced the "vicious madness" of those who have pictured the State Department as Communist-infested.

The honesty and courage of Secretary Acheson have never been more clearly

displayed than in those moving moments. Editors who two days before had applauded Senator McCarthy's hypocritical complaints of unfair treatment were visibly shaken by Acheson's conclusive answers to all charges. The press, he told its leading representatives, is "in a worse situation than I am. I and my associates are only the intended victims of this mad and vicious operation. But you, unhappily—by reason of your calling—are participants . . . unwilling participants, disgusted participants, but, nevertheless, participants, and your position is far more serious than mine."

The Secretary's main address on "total diplomacy" in the cold war would have been strengthened by some of the same boldness and bare honesty that

came out in his off-the-record talk. Acheson communicated his deep concern over the continued threat from the Russians and went some distance farther in explaining precisely what he means by "total diplomacy": a policy in which all of us join and which goes to the roots of every domestic as well as foreign question. We must, the Secretary said, continue the "six lines of action" we are now pursuing: "demonstrate our own faith in freedom," "preach this doctrine throughout the world," "look to our defenses," "help create a better material life," "bring the free world closer together," and finally "go on trying to find a common ground for agreement" with the Soviets. This presupposes support from the Republicans.

Acheson made it clear that in his mind "total diplomacy" must rest on bipartisan agreement. But he gave no definite information on how far he will or will not go in compromising his "six lines of action" or his basic approach to world problems in order to attain "a final consensus" with all elements in both parties. Secretary Acheson has yet to open his heart to the country with regard to the actual details of foreign policy as fully as he finally has with regard to those who would destroy it and him.

GERMANY AND THE SENATE

Pressure has been increasing on both sides of the Senate for Administration action to offset an approaching crisis in Germany. A fortnight ago Senator Styles Bridges (R, N. H.), who has bitterly criticized the Administration's foreign policy, requested that the McCarran "watchdog" committee open an investigation of plant dismantling in Germany. Last week, Senator Guy M. Gillette (D, Iowa) warned that American policy in Germany is preparing the way for the United States to lose a third world war.

Congressional concern is the result of reports from Eastern Germany of a revived German army under Communist command, and from Western Germany of anti-democratic elements reported to be actively sabotaging Allied policy and preparing to seize power at the first favorable moment. "And, leading up to all this," Gillette said, "during the first few months of this year, there has been a mounting number of news stories reporting the resurgence of the same forces in German society against which the world had to fight the two greatest wars in history.

"Woven like a black thread through these reports is repeated evidence that some of these elements reëmerging in Western Germany have a program of collaboration with the Soviet Union, looking to the day when the Allies withdraw from their occupation of Germany and an independent German state, dominated by enemies of democracy—whether National Bolsheviks, Strasser Black Front Nazis, followers of the Haushofer geopolitical school, or some other neo-Nazi movement—can proceed to ally itself in a new and fearsome

totalitarian Axis with Soviet Russia."

Observers, the Senator said, are warning of a gigantic Communist demonstration in Berlin, due on May 28, which could turn into a showdown between opposing German forces, one egged on by the Soviet occupation authorities, the other supported by the Western allies. "A day of reckoning will come over Germany," he predicted, "just as it came over China. I suspect that the resulting explosion in the United States will make the outcry over China seem like a pleasant afternoon tea. For in Germany, it will be seen that we have not only lost the Second World War—and that the Nazis, rather than we, were the victors—but that we have prepared the way for us to lose a third world war if it comes."

Gillette's speech was the first public blast by a Democrat against our policy in Germany, although there has been deep concern, evident in both the State Department and the White House, over the gap between verbal pronouncements and actual achievement in Germany. Seven Senators—Claude Pepper (D, Fla.), Robert C. Hendrickson (R, N. J.), Irving M. Ives (R, N. Y.), Herbert H. Lehman (D, N. Y.), Harley M. Kilgore (D, W. Va.), Paul H. Douglas (D, Ill.) and Dennis Chavez (D, N. M.)—have joined Gillette in introducing a resolution requesting the President to appoint a bipartisan commission to conduct a study of all matters relating to American foreign policy in Germany and to report its findings and recommendations to the President for transmittal to Congress.

SPOTLIGHT ON THE RACKETS

The Democratic Party has decided to take the offensive in exposing the ties which exist between the major crime syndicates and big-city politics in the United States. Senator Estes Kefauver (D, Tenn.) proposed a bill some months ago providing for a Senatorial investigation of interstate crime. After the murder of the gambler Charles Binaggio in a Kansas City Democratic ward club, a number of Republican Senators joined in urging an inquiry which would begin with the Pendergast machine.

The Democratic Policy Committee decided that to prevent a Senate crime

investigation conducted this election year from becoming a straight political dogfight, it should be conducted by a special joint committee and not by the regular Judiciary Committee which had held hearings on the original resolution. President Truman's bitter enemy, Senator Pat McCarran of Nevada, as chairman of the Judiciary Committee, could not be counted on to prevent the leading Republican members, Senators Homer Ferguson (Mich.) and Forrest Donnell (Mo.), from turning the inquiry to Republican campaign purposes.

A large majority of Congress and the top leadership of the Administration have finally become deeply concerned about underworld control over more and more phases of American life, and over local government in particular. Attorney General McGrath, acting for an aroused group of local and state law-enforcement officers and municipal officials, is pressing for new federal legislation to give the Department of Justice wider jurisdiction over gambling. The Department needs the power to prohibit the interstate use of telephone, telegraph and radio facilities to disseminate the results of races and other sports events.

Concern lest an airing of gambler tie-ups might embarrass the city machines that support them keeps some Senators from becoming enthusiastic about Kefauver's resolution. Republicans have charged that Majority Leader Scott Lucas is one of these. Lucas, however, without referring specifically to the Cook County (Chicago) machine which supports him, has declared on the floor that he has no desire to prevent an investigation "into any state . . . or any place," and promises that a crime-investigating committee "will be appointed ultimately."

A Joint Committee on interstate crime headed by Senator Kefauver would not be a Democratic whitewash. The Democratic leadership knows this, and fair-minded Republicans admit it. Public reassurance that efforts are being made to root out criminal influences in politics is so important to the Democrats politically, however, that the Senate balks at such a joint investigation. President Truman is likely to create an independent citizens' commission to study the problem.

STILL MORE AUSTERITY

The new British budget is just about what should have been expected—and, in all human probability, about what it would be if the Tories were in power, despite their seductive campaign promises before the general election last February. The British are doing far better than we are in balancing their budget and holding down inflation; but they are doing it at a grim cost. The standard rate of tax is still 45 percent after allowances, despite modest reductions in the rates for some of the poor. The surtax brings the maximum rate on the final portion of the income of the very rich to 97.5 percent.

There is a sales tax of one-third on trucks and Sir Stafford Cripps is recommending that the tax on high-priced autos be cut to the same level; it has been 66 2/3 percent. "Pleasure driving" will be doubled, to 180 miles a month; gasoline, including taxes, is about 84 cents a gallon. The housing program will be expanded from 195,000 to 200,000 houses per year, about 60 percent of the US program, in proportion to population. National defense will cost \$2.1 billion, or roughly half as much per capita as our own. Britain's total budget, about \$11 billion at the current rate of exchange, is roughly the same per capita as the American, when

we remember that the internal purchasing power of the pound went down less than the external devaluation.

Great Britain's troubles are partly the result of the war, partly the waning of the economics of imperialism; that they are not caused by "the welfare state" was proved when the Tories campaigned on a platform pledging continuance of all its important features. The great unsolved problem, no matter who is in power, remains: What will happen in 1952, when Marshall Plan aid is supposed to come to an end?

INCIDENT IN THE BALTIC

Russian forces have shot down an American plane over the Baltic. On so much, both countries are agreed. Russia says the plane was "of the B-29 type," was over Soviet territory, was there to photograph Soviet defense installations (how do they know?) and had opened fire on a Russian plane which had been sent up to order it to land at a Russian airport. The US says the plane was an unarmed Navy Privateer, and that if it was over Russian territory it was at least 350 miles off its course.

We have sent an extremely stiff note to Russia rejecting her explanation, demanding "appropriate indemnity for the unprovoked destruction of American lives and property" and calling the Russian action "a violation of

international law and the most elementary rules of peaceful conduct between nations." The Russians, as was expected, have repudiated all our demands, and there, as we go to press, the matter rests.

A few decades ago, an incident of this sort could easily have led to war; today, it seems highly improbable that it will. Nations are not so trigger-happy as they once were. Nevertheless the whole business—even if it does not flare up into something worse—will help to make the cold war hotter, a process which needed no help from anybody.

A LOBBYIST ON DEMOCRACY

If there has ever been any question about the philosophy of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, it is now on the record in Congress. The House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities has produced a letter written by Herbert U. Nelson, executive vice-president of the Association, in which he says:

"I do not believe in democracy. I think it stinks. I don't think anybody except direct taxpayers should be allowed to vote. I don't believe women should be allowed to vote at all. Ever since they started, our public affairs have been in a worse mess than ever. . . ."

The committee, headed by Frank Buchanan (D, Pa.), selected Nelson's NAREB as "typical" of the effective real-estate lobbies that have blocked the Administration's housing program. The Association has real-estate boards in 1,115 communities and a membership of about 44,000.

Attempting to explain the letter, which he had written to the incoming president of NAREB (T. H. Maenner) last year, Nelson added: "We do not have a democracy in this country. We have a republican form of government. My distrust of democracy, the uncontrolled rule of a numerical majority or the dictatorship of the proletariat, was shared by the founders of the Republic, as can be shown from many quotations from their writings."

Actually, Nelson's philosophy was only a sidelight in the investigation. The committee expects to take on the task of studying revision of the Lobbying Registration Act, recently tested in the District Court by former Representative Roger Slaughter. The court cleared Slaughter of the indictment that, without registering, he sought to defeat bills to regulate margin requirements on speculative transactions in commodity futures on commodity exchanges. Slaughter maintained that his services, paid by the Minneapolis Grain Exchange and the North American Export Grain Association, were simply those of an attorney. Unless the lobby committee can draft a new act, the courts will find it increasingly hard to enforce the penalties Congress intended when it wrote the law.



THE WASHINGTON POST

OUTSIDE AMERICA

The Italians need civic peace, as well as money, if "the Kremlin's design" is to be frustrated. (See "Outside America," April 17.) They need the kind that can be assured only by a government whose first, constant, sympathetic and, above all, honest concern is with taking practical steps to solve grave domestic problems. They don't have such a government. The "land reform" bill presented by Antonio Segni, the Minister of Agriculture, is a fraud.

One of the tragedies of the Italians is that they live in a country which is, from the point of view of the contenders in the international cold war, one of its most valuable testing grounds, hence inevitably one of its most active battle grounds. In Italy, perhaps more than in any other country, domestic politics reflects the play of world forces. For in Italy there is a convergence of the direct power drives of all three of the world's pretenders to political universality. The Italian domestic scene gets the full impact of the clash among the Kremlin, the Vatican and the State Department.

Less than a year ago the two biggest men on that scene—Alcide de Gasperi within the Christian Democratic Party on the Right, Palmiro Togliatti with the Communist Party on the Left—were still relatively moderate. Both have been steadily driven from the middle, de Gasperi farther toward the Right by pressure from spokesmen for reaction in the Vatican, Togliatti farther toward the Left by orders from Moscow. The present crisis suggests that neither has gone far enough to satisfy his masters: the battle in Italy is no longer between de Gasperi and Togliatti but between Mario Scelba, the Minister of the Interior who wants to capture the Christian Democratic Party and transform it into a "regime," and Luigi Longo, the veteran military man of the Communists, who is following Moscow's orders to provoke "preventive civil war." (See

"The Communist Strategy in France," April 3.)

The recent melodrama on the Italian domestic scene has been more sensational than its counterpart in France for reasons which go beyond the fact that the Italians are more emotional, violent and individualistic than the French. While France is old in the ways of the democratic process, Italy is the country which, Giovanni Giolitti said thirty years ago, would take at least two centuries to become democratic.

Worse still is the fact that the heritage of Fascism is only part of the more dangerous heritage of centuries of despotism, tyranny and reaction. Scelba can honestly say he isn't a Fascist; he's a product of the "black" Bourbons. So can the reactionaries in the Vatican proclaim that they are merely defending Italy from the dangers of anticlericalism; their conception of democracy is not much closer than the Soviets' to the liberal definition.

Worst of all is that Italy has too many outsider defenders. For the Kremlin, the defense is against the American warmongers. For the Vatican, it is against the heretical reformers, ranging from all of the Communists to some of the liberals. For the Americans, it is against "the Kremlin's design" and all Italians who have doubts about the State Department's designs.

The Italian struggle is becoming a test of strength between the extremes on the Right and Left because 1950, in addition to being Holy Year, is the year whose great fact, according to *Life* magazine, is that the enemies of the free world are trying to destroy the free world; and also the year in which *Pravda* sees the Military Assistance Program and the H-bomb as portents of a preventive world war. In this Holy Year, the Vatican regards Italy's defense as urgent because it is the cornerstone of a "Christian Europe." In the year of "the great fear" in America, the Pentagon wants Italy defended as the bridge to the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. In the year of "the new appeasement," the State Department considers Italy the middle of the political road between Madrid and Paris, a country where a "good" neo-reaction can be given a sufficiently opaque veneer of anti-Fascism, if not of

democracy; where (unlike France) the virus of anti-Atlanticism has not yet rotted away gratitude for American generosity. And in the year when Moscow's peace offensive has finally shown itself to be preventive psychological warfare, Italy seems to the Kremlin to be an even better place than France in which to exploit against the success of MAP a profound popular aversion to war in all its forms.

If the Kremlin is right, the Vatican, and the State Department will have made it right. As in France, the Communist objective is not to prevent the Americans from arming the Italians. That can't be prevented. It will happen. The objective is to make the Americans arm a reactionary police state, so that the Communists can more effectively organize underground partisan resistance with the slogan of a fight against neo-Fascism (which, while not strictly accurate, won't be entirely unjustified).

It may be nothing more than coincidence that the State Department chose Rome as the gathering place of the American Ambassadors in Europe for their spring meeting. Or it may be a proof of confidence in Scelba's ability to "impose" order by methods not very different from those Mussolini used, and also by some new ones—fire hoses squirting water colored with indelible red, blue and yellow dyes so that, even long after demonstrations are broken up, the clubs of the men in Scelba's jeep-carried Fast Squad won't be deprived of work.

Scelba as the head of the new committee of "public safety" will surely beat the Communists in the streets. Whether Italian democracy (and the Americans who profess to support it) will win in the country is another matter. The struggle has only begun. Since ECA issued its first report on Italy a year ago, saying that industry was working at something like half-capacity in some areas, many big factories have shut, the Alfa-Romeo and Isotta-Fraschini, for example. Unemployment is above two million, with at least another million on part time. Textile, shipbuilding and other industries are laying off men. Peasants are seizing land, and being clubbed or shot. But, after all, "the Kremlin's design" must be frustrated. PERCY WINNER

THE RIGHT WAY TO BEAT COMMUNISM

A MAJOR DEBATE on America's world policy is inevitable and necessary. The alternative for our democracy is continued drift and ultimate defeat.

This debate will take place within the framework of an attitude common to all save extremists of Left and Right which recognizes that Soviet Communism is today the greatest organized evil in the world.

Within this area of agreement there are profound differences concerning the size and nature of the effort required of the free nations. These differences have been concealed by the fears engendered by hysteria, the sparring for strategic gains in partisan politics, and the belief among all people of good will that as long as negotiation seemed possible with Russia, our task was to preserve fluidity in world politics.

There are no longer many opportunities for America to coöperate with Soviet Communism. But there are major choices to be made in the means of opposing Communism and of strengthening the non-Communist world. The survival of democracy depends quite substantially on the clarity and honesty with which these choices are placed before the American people.

As the choices are unraveled, two basic approaches may emerge. They cross the shifting lines of party, class and faith as these lines have formed to meet traditional problems of the past. Yet ultimately they correspond to the classical definitions of conservatism and liberalism as these attitudes have expressed themselves in the past.

The first approach stresses institutions; the second, human values. The first sees in power the means of combating Communism, the second stresses progress.

As further illustration, take five aspects of the present struggle and contrast in each the conservative and liberal points of view. We find on the liberal side bold men such as Paul Hoffman and George Marshall, and on the conservative side "leftists" whose intent seems to be the division of society into the damned and the condemned: those consigned to the outer darkness as "fellow travelers" and those who accept the inevitability of war.

The basis of world Communism. In analyzing the basis and appeal of world Communism, the conservative begins by a defense of the status quo. He may concede that two-thirds of the world's peoples live in hunger and poverty caused by low productivity and exploitation. He does not concede that these millions are demanding rapid improvement in their lives with a force that cannot be denied. For the same reason he does not concede that Communism, which agitates for rapid

change, has any mass appeal. Consequently the conservative is compelled by his original premise consistently to underestimate the appeal and the threat of world Communism.

Yet, the threat is only too clear. The conservative undertakes to explain it in terms of the power of Russia as a police state, backed by its agents and by its armies.

James Burnham, the arch-conservative in the sense in which the term is defined here, is totally indifferent to the conditions that give rise to Communism, and largely unconcerned with economic programs to alleviate those conditions. In his new book, *The Coming Defeat of Communism*, he is concerned solely with power, and not at all with the purposes for which power is used. Russia to him is a national power, opposed by the national power of the United States. The task is to destroy Soviet power by the extensive use of Soviet techniques. Since his program is devoid of all social principles and concerned only with the destruction and the creation of power, it appeals equally to the amorality of the ex-Communist and the reactionary.

In contrast, the liberal approach to Communism has been a humanist approach. Its first premise has been the insistence that for two-thirds of the world's people the status quo is intolerable and demands rapid change. Therefore it has acknowledged the potential of the Communist appeal.

A classical statement of this approach was made thirty years ago by Lord Keynes:

Whatever the content of Russian communism may be, it represents a gigantic human enterprise. In it men have resolutely embraced a purpose of reform and live tensely under the discipline that faith instills in them. It is simply a misunderstanding of the European to expect that he can hear unmoved that call to new action when he has no standard of a cause as great to unfurl in opposition.

That high point of respect for the Communist appeal was maintained in the thirties by the contrasts of capitalist depression and the need for a common front to fascist aggression. It was maintained in the war years by the Soviet military effort.

Since the war Soviet Communism has emerged as an aggressive dictatorship. Consequently the liberal attitude to Russia has moved swiftly toward the conservative interpretation. Yet the liberal still insists that for poverty-stricken peoples to whom democracy means foreign exploitation and Moscow is a vague name, the potential of Communism still remains. An indifference to that potential, a decision to oppose Communism on the military

front alone while Communism is fighting on economic, social, political, cultural and psychological fronts, is to guarantee the destruction of the free world.

The opposition to Communism. The opposition of American democracy to Soviet Communism requires a program, and it requires allies.

A program in turn requires government action and government funds.

Since they are committed to cutting taxes and reducing the role of the federal government in our economy, the conservatives are compelled to minimize all programs. They hesitate on rearmament; they resist endeavors to aid world economic reconstruction by the public investment of American resources.

Both major parties, for example, are committed to full support of the United Nations. Both are committed to the Point Four program as a means of strengthening the United Nations and of preventing further Communist encroachment in backward areas. This year the conservatives in Congress have sent the Point Four program off to a flying start with appropriations cut down to one-hundredth of one cent in every dollar of our national income.

Burnham once again rationalizes the opposition of the conservatives to the expense and effort of world economic reconstruction by explaining that in the absence of a political "offensive" these efforts are doomed to fail. "The Marshall Plan," he explains, "can have no more than a negative success: it cannot produce positive gains." The real problem is "the shattering of the iron curtain," "the smashing of Communism" and "the alteration of the power balance." Brave words!

Second, a policy of opposing Communism requires allies.

The American conservative lacks allies in today's world. His loneliness tends to reinforce his natural reliance on his inheritance of America's nationalist and isolationist past. Once again Burnham, the philosopher of the conservative approach, rationalizes this deep-seated prejudice. "World politics," he explains, "is . . . the field of struggle between the United States as representative of Western Civilization . . . and Communism with its primary base in the Soviet Union." This argument, absolving other peoples of their responsibilities, like Burnham's further assertion that there is no real distinction between cold war and shooting war, plays right into the Communists' hands.

Where alliances are necessary, the conservative, fearful of positive programs, seeks allies among those who profess anti-Communism.

Our best allies, Burnham explains, are those "who can be relied on to resist Communism to the end." General de Gaulle qualifies at once, since he alone in France is "firm." Franco, presumably, is such another. A

"united front with the Vatican" is a first priority; "the supposed argument that the Catholic Church is . . . a 'totalitarian movement' is, quite apart from its abstract truth or falsity, simply irrelevant."

To the liberal, in contrast, democracy is not a relic, to be paraded on ceremonial occasions, but a principal weapon and means of salvation.

America's first task to the liberal is to raise the living standards of the world to the minimum level at which democratic government becomes feasible. The method is by strengthening the existing and potential forces of democracy, if necessary in opposition to their rulers where these rulers represent a feudal past or a contemporary police state.

The Point Four program is one example of this conflict which remains unresolved. The majority of the backward areas for which technical assistance and capital investment are proposed are governed by unrepresentative and reactionary rulers. These rulers are also our present allies in the cold war. To be effective, technical assistance to these regions will lead directly to social reform and therefore to social upheaval.

Faced with these alternatives, the conservatives will choose to keep the areas backward for reasons of short-term strategic advantage; the liberal will seek long-term security by the promotion of social reform. There is no guiding rule in every case. The decision may often be a matter of pace and degree. Yet the choice is present and pressing on a world scale. Land reform in Italy, tax reform in France, the destruction of cartels in Germany are social issues implicit in our present economic programs, which we have refused to face and yet cannot for long ignore.

The handling of Communists. Neither liberal nor conservative has a final answer to the perplexing contrast between constitutional principles and Communist practices. Yet a contrast in views is clear.

The Communist works away among lower-income groups and within progressive organizations, often calling for the same short-term objectives as those of the non-Communist Left. The conservative lacks understanding and sympathy for the non-Communist Left, its objectives and its organizations. With faith in its ability to defeat the Communists, and no belief in progress as the alternative to Communism, he turns toward repression by legislation.

For Burnham, outlawing the Communist Party in all free nations is simply the first step. The objective is "liquidation." De Gaulle is favored in the belief that he alone is willing to line up the hundred thousand "hard-core" French Communists against a wall and execute them.

The liberal, in contrast, has assumed that once suppression starts, it has no end. He has worked with Com-

munists in the belief that disagreement on ultimate aims did not preclude cooperation on short-term objectives.

That policy was clearly wrong. Ultimate aims and short-term aims can never be separated, and in the case of Communists and liberals are in basic conflict. Nor are there good and bad Communists. The Communist Party is a recruiting ground for subversion and espionage. Whoever joins it, either through guilty conscience or idealism, ends by losing all conscience and all ideals.

Yet for the liberal suppression is no answer. Instead, it breeds a totally false sense of security. For America's front lines in this struggle are not on Times Square but in the jungles of Indo-China and the streets of Berlin. In addition, Russia is so far superior to America in matters of suppression that once we decide to fight with her weapons we are lost.

The search for truth cannot go forward in the absence of heresy and opposition. . . . When the unity of a democratic society is maintained through arbitrary imposition even over a very small area, it ceases to be the kind of unity that is appropriate to a truth-seeking society. . . . Error is always the result of a defeat suffered by truth on its own territory. Every attempt to fight error as if it were born beyond the frontiers of truth . . . not only fails as a matter of course but prevents the application of the only effective remedy. . . . We can liquidate error only as we absorb and transcend it.

These are the words, not of a sentimental liberal but of A. Rossi, a onetime executive-committee member of the Comintern. In his book, *A Communist Party in Action*, Rossi concludes:

The citizens must confront the Communists in the factories, in the streets, in the villages. . . . The state should step in only when Communist action takes a form that private citizens simply cannot cope with.

The defeat of Communism. With great precision Burnham analyzes the weaknesses of world Communism. With equal force he argues that our policy makes sense only if it foresees Communism's ultimate defeat. He recommends measures of psychological warfare that are valuable. But none begins to add up to defeat.

And no wonder.

For the truth is that concentrating on the cold war will never permit a solution to the underlying conflict.

The Russians know this. Their program is to achieve world conquest by exploiting the inner weaknesses of democracy. To the extent that we concentrate on the cold war and ignore the developing imbalances within our society, we play into Soviet hands.

America's strength in the Berlin airlift startled the Russians. Yet it was entirely within their frame of reference. America's failure to collapse in a postwar depression really shook the Russians. It was a development outside their realm of discourse and in defiance of their theology.

The cold war was largely a fight over the breakup and division of the world. Today the world is more or less divided. A shift in concentration from the cold war to the strengthening of the non-Communist world is our first task in defeating Communism.

The elements of strength for the non-Communist world include its military power, its economic stability, its solidarity and the faith of its peoples.

On each of these issues choices are developing that cannot be ignored.

General Omar Bradley has indicated that the military power of the non-Communist world can be increased only by the abandonment of nationally balanced armed forces in favor of a unified Western force. Paul Hoffman has added that Europe's economic stability can be obtained only if the economies of Western Europe and America advance toward unification. John McCloy has declared that the solidarity of the non-Communist world can be preserved only if Western Europe is federated, in close association with America and with the British commonwealth. All these endeavors rest, as soldiers and statesmen know, on continued full employment in the US. And they need to be joined under a concept and a flag that peoples can recognize and understand.

These are the next steps that the defeat of world Communism requires us to take. Far from moving ahead to these solutions, we have yet to recognize that these are problems that require solution.

Even if agreement were achieved on the size and nature of the effort required to defeat Communism, conflicts concerning time and emphasis would need to be resolved.

But there is not yet any agreement on the effort itself.

The liberals are largely silent on these issues in this campaign year. The conservatives are seeking reelection not by challenging new undertakings in prospect, but by attacking present programs already inadequate and close to conclusion.

Our election, which should be the occasion of a debate on America's future, is more likely to be an irrelevant sideshow featuring slander and stories dug up from a past that is dead and gone.

The decisions that we face cannot be taken without recourse to public opinion. There is no short cut to public enlightenment through frank debate. As time passes, and we drift, imbalances accumulate and solutions become more drastic and harder to achieve.

The power of ideas. Prevalent in high circles is the enervating conviction that the American people are weary of major international endeavors and hostile to new ideas.

If this is true then we are in danger, even if we continue economically to progress. Thirty years ago Keynes noted that the appeal of Communism was not primarily

economic and could not be countered by economic action alone; it consisted not of the substance but of the fervor of Communist faith.

If the Communists win power in France [adds Rossi today], it will be because France is a country in which the bonds of community have grown weak; a country in which almost everyone is ready, at a moment's notice, to call into question the moral foundations of national unity. For where unity can be had on no other terms, men finally seek it in some political movement that is able and willing to impose it.

In this context, the central threat of conservatism is its complacency and its resistance to new ideas. Liberalism, on the contrary, welcomes new ideas and thrives on impatience.

America was born in rebellion against colonial oppression. We fought a civil war to resolve a moral issue. We inspired the League of Nations and the United Nations. We lifted ourselves from depression by the New Deal. We said in depression that we had nothing to fear. Why, at the peak of our power, should we be afraid?

DIXIECRATS HELPED BY THE HIGH COURT

THE TRUMAN Supreme Court has opened the way for Dixiecrats to make effective war on the national Democratic Party. By refusing to rule on the constitutionality of Georgia's County Unit System, the Court has not only undercut the action taken six years ago to outlaw the "white primary" but has invited new moves to disfranchise Negroes.

by Jean Begeman

Seven Justices, including every appointee Truman has named to the high court, joined in holding constitutional the blatantly discriminatory method of counting votes in the Georgia Democratic primary. Only Justices William O. Douglas and Hugo Black ruled that the County Unit System, which has enabled the race-hating Talmadges to hold power, is in violation of the equal-protection clause and the "right-to-vote" provisions of the Constitution. The majority based its refusal to back up the earlier decisions of the Roosevelt Court on the weak claim that "federal courts consistently refuse to exercise their equity powers in cases posing political issues. . . ."

In 1917, the General Assembly of Georgia passed an Act giving each of Georgia's 159 counties a certain number of unit votes: the eight most populous counties have six unit votes each; the next 30 most populous, four unit votes, and the remaining 121 counties, two unit votes. The candidate for state or federal office who gets the most votes in a given county wins the county's entire unit vote. In 1946, when "Old Gene" Talmadge ran for Governor (the last time before his death), his total of county-unit votes put him into office, although his opponent, liberal James V. Carmichael, received about 7,500 more ballots.

The discriminatory County Unit System has been referred to as "election by geography instead of by people." The 500,000 residents of Atlanta's Fulton County carry no more weight at the polls than the 45,000 people of Troup County. In the last Democratic primary, one vote cast in Chattahoochee County was as powerful as 122.2 votes in Fulton County. This is an extreme, but the average Georgia voter outside of Fulton County has

11.5 times as much voting power as a resident of Fulton. The dissenting

Justices cogently observed "that if a state reduced the vote of Negroes, Catholics, or Jews so that each got only one-tenth of a vote, we would strike the law down."

Two voters of Fulton County, Benard South and Harold Fleming, challenged the constitutionality of the County Unit System after the 1948 election. A month ago, however, the District Court for Northern Georgia upheld, two to one, its legality. It was this ruling that the Truman Court affirmed. Justices Douglas and Black warned that "we have here a system of discrimination in primary voting that undermines the advances made by the *Nixon*, *Classic*, and *Allwright* cases. Those decisions are defeated by a device as deeply rooted in discrimination as the practice which keeps a man from the voting booth because of his race, creed, or color, or which fails to count his vote after it has been cast."

They declared that with this decision of the majority "the whole ground is cut from under our primary cases . . .":

¶ In *Nixon v. Herndon* (1927), the Court held that denial of the right to vote is a violation of the Equal Protection Clause.

¶ In *US v. Classic* (1941), the Court held that the right to vote includes the right to have the ballot counted.

¶ In *Smith v. Allwright* (1944), the Court held that the constitutional protection of the voting right extends to a primary where such primary is an integral part of the state election machinery.

¶ In *US v. Saylor* (1944), the Court held that the right to have the vote counted includes the right to have it counted without dilution and at full value.

The greatest barrier to political reform in the deep South has been the existence of party rules and regulations which give decisive power to the most conservative, rural sections of the states. Georgia's County Unit Sys-

tem stands out as the last effective legal means of maintaining white supremacy at the polls.

Most of the 150,000 registered Negro voters live in the larger urban counties. Their votes, like those of the white urban residents, are diluted. In the rural counties Negro farm laborers, tenant farmers or sharecroppers are susceptible to intimidation by their white employers, and seldom go to the polls. As a result, the Negro vote carries so little weight that state office-seekers give them small consideration. In his last gubernatorial campaign, young Herman Talmadge promised to see that Georgia had "as white a primary as possible."

"The racial angle of the case only emphasizes the bite of the decision which sustains the County Unit System of voting," Justices Douglas and Black declared. "There

is more to the right to vote than the right to mark a piece of paper and drop it in a box or the right to pull a lever in a voting booth. The right to vote includes the right to have the ballot counted . . . at full value. . . ."

Southern reactionaries see the Supreme Court decision as an invitation to turn the clock back by installing the County Unit System everywhere possible. Governor Talmadge, up for reelection, has already proposed extending it to apply to general elections as well as primaries. Dixiecrats in Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina are drafting county-unit bills of their own. Hope for a two-party system and rapid liberalization of the South has suffered a serious setback. The Truman Court has snatched away the hope for political democracy which the Supreme Court gave to the South.

PEPPER VERSUS SMATHERS

MANY FLORIDIANS are convinced that the outcome of the torrid primary fight for the US Senate between incumbent Claude Pepper and Representative George A. Smathers is vital to the future of this nation. Quite a number of out-of-staters share that opinion.

Pepper is a symbol of the liberalism that is under heavy attack, and spokesman for forces that have not fared too well in the South. His fate is of keen interest to all engaged in the struggle to win the South away from reaction. Even people to whom Florida is merely a land of citrus, sunshine and sin believe that the outcome is far more significant than the filling of one seat in the Senate.

In Florida these days, you are "fer" Pepper or "agin" him. It is his record that is under fire, a record written during 14 eventful years in the Senate. Pepper is one of the few remaining stalwarts of the New Deal, and a vocal, down-the-line supporter of the Fair Deal—a rare thing indeed for a Senator from the deep South. His policies have often been far in advance of the thinking of his constituents, and his success in maintaining his seat is a mark of high political skill.

Against him are arrayed forces that range from big businessmen to small-time bigots—and many persons of no particular political stamp who are simply attracted to the hard-campaigning, handsome young Smathers. A characteristic of this fight is the passion of the attack, illustrated by an eight-column, page-one streamer in a recent issue of the *Palm Beach Post*: "Senator Pepper Is An Infamous Liar." Most of the press, with the notable exception of the *St. Petersburg Times*, is anti-Pepper.

Pepper told an audience recently: "This is a race of

by Bert Collier

tremendous importance, but the opposition is offering nothing affirmative and is putting on the most vicious smear campaign I have ever known. They are ducking out on the issues. They are trying to inflame the people against me." He was referring to Smathers' major strategy of pinning the "pro-Communist" label on him. Smathers calls Pepper "an apologist for Stalin, an associate of fellow travelers and a sponsor for Communist-front organizations." One of his campaign techniques is to name each day a new group which Pepper has addressed during his Senatorial career and which Smathers says is subversive or a Communist front. He makes frequent references to Pepper's visit to Moscow late in 1945 as a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Pepper interviewed Stalin and spoke over the Soviet radio, urging better understanding between the United States and Russia. Later he addressed a rally in Madison Square Garden sponsored by the CIO's Political Action Committee and other groups, and was critical of the "get tough with Russia" school. Smathers cites this and similar speeches by Pepper as proof of potential disloyalty.

This Red-scare note runs through the entire Smathers strategy. In lambasting Pepper for his outspoken advocacy of the Administration's health program, he quotes Lenin: "The best way to communize any country is to socialize its medical profession." Smathers devoted much of one address to an attack on his opponent for supporting the anti-filibuster resolution in the Senate in 1949. He defended the filibuster as the chief weapon of the South to defeat the Fair Employment Practices Commission. He pointed out that Pepper was ignored when Southern Senators caucused recently to defeat the civil-rights program. Pepper was not invited, Smathers said, because his colleagues from the South knew

Bert Collier is a reporter for the Miami Herald who has been covering the Pepper-Smathers campaign.

that "he is on the side of Marcantonio, Dave Dubinsky and Adam Clayton Powell, who want to take away from you your basic rights."

Addressing a rally in a town where the railroad brotherhoods have many members, Smathers centered his fire on Pepper's support of the wartime FEPC. This legislation, Smathers told the group, "would have destroyed your unions by forcing you to open them to every individual, regardless of race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry."

Both sides admit this type of campaign is having its effect and Pepper himself, though a seasoned campaigner, has shown signs of irritation at this bigoted attack. Some Floridians believe it necessary to destroy Pepper politically, but regret that Smathers' tactics are appealing to prejudice, with which Florida has been less cursed than some of its neighbors.

The struggle, both campaigners assert, is a clash of basic philosophies of government. Pepper plugs for the national health program, public housing, increased social-security benefits, for labor and the less privileged groups. Smathers is for retrenchment in government spending, less government regulation and more "free enterprise." While the pro-Communist theme dominates headlines and street-corner talk, Pepper is campaigning in every hamlet and at every crossroad, hammering at what he considers the fundamentals. Smathers, he says, is the spokesman for those opposing the social and economic program of the Democratic Party. Pepper points to Smathers' vote for an amendment excluding one million workers from the minimum-wage law.

Smathers supported an amendment to the 1949 Housing Act striking public housing from the bill, though it was restored and he voted favorably on final passage.

"Smathers didn't want to help the middle and low-income people," Pepper said. "But he was glad to go to bat for the nation's great railroads and vote for the [Bulwinkle] bill that permitted them to ignore the anti-trust laws in the fixing of rates. He has always been willing to support the rich and the powerful, and that is why most of them are supporting him in this race."

One of the striking differences in the voting record of the two men was on the 1949 income-tax bill. Smathers opposed the tax cut while Pepper was for it.

Smathers, at 36, has been in public office almost since he was graduated from the University of Florida, where he was president of the student body. He got a taste for politics there and managed Pepper's Senatorial campaign at the university. Pepper helped get him appointed assistant federal district attorney in Miami shortly after his graduation. During the war, he entered the Marines. Discharged in 1945, he became a special assistant to Attorney General Tom Clark. Pepper, who had kept

his eye on his young protégé, wanted him to run against Pat Cannon, former Representative from Miami who fought Pepper in the Florida delegation. Smathers won that race in a campaign during which he shook hands with practically every voter in the district. He was reelected without opposition.

Pepper, who reached the Senate in a special election at the age of 36, has been reelected twice. His pro-labor record in an anti-labor state (Florida was one of the first to outlaw the closed shop) has made him a figure of controversy. All his opponents have run on a stop-Pepper platform. His liberalism aroused furious opposition, particularly in the sections bordering Alabama and Georgia. But he is an accomplished political strategist. He captured the state party machinery last year and helped with Fuller Warren's successful race for Governor. Some of the advantages of that alliance have been dissipated by the difficulties that have befallen the Warren administration over the sales tax and the perennial question of law enforcement against gambling.

Though he is hard-pressed as never before, Pepper has not compromised his liberalism and is making the fight of his life. An observer recently said: "Don't underestimate this fellow. He's giving the campaign everything he's got. He's thinking, talking, planning and executing defenses of his theories and barbs for his opponent from the moment his eyes open in a hotel room in the morning until they close at night in another hotel room halfway across the state."

Smathers' forces are built around fellow University alumni, the younger business elements represented in Junior Chambers of Commerce, and the well-to-do who were confirmed opponents of Roosevelt as they now are of Truman, and anti-Pepperites.

Pepper draws all-out support of most of the labor and minority groups. Politically potent in his camp are the professionals allied to the state party machine, who control a majority of the state and county offices.

As in all close elections, the decision lies with the voiceless groups—the housewives, unorganized white-collar workers, and, in Florida, a growing number of retired people who are increasingly pension conscious. Normally most of these would give their support to Pepper. The unknown factor is the effect of the issue of Communism. It has never before been raised in Florida.

Pepper strikes at this frankly:

"My opposition, who stir up distrust of all public officials, and greed and hate among religions and races, are the very ones who try to pin the label of Socialism and Communism on every proposal that would make democracy stronger. Our democratic program is an affirmative program—one to bring the American way of life to more Americans. It is for the greatest good of the greatest number."

HAROLD L. ICKES: Dulles, the "Indispensable"

IN VETOING the Kerr gas bill President Truman was protecting consumers of natural gas against ruthless monopolistic practices. However, rumors of the reappointment of Chairman Nelson Lee Smith of the Federal Power Commission are disturbing. Mr. Smith has been too susceptible to the oleaginous charm of Mr. Kerr. To strike down the Kerr bill while maintaining an FPC subservient to Kerr would give the oil-gas interests all that they have been trying to grab. I refuse to believe that President Truman would give the appearance of holding back plundering special interests with one hand while opening the gate into the rich pasture of higher prices with the other.

But while the veto of the Kerr bill is highly to be commended, the attempted appeasement of the obnoxious McCarthy-Wherry-Bridges Senatorial gang is to be regretted. Whether John Foster Dulles was appointed an adviser to the State Department by the President voluntarily, or whether as a result of pressure from Secretary Acheson and certain Republican leaders, I do not know. In any event, it was unwise to return to a place of influence and power a man whose fitness for high public office was so questionable that the voters of New York in 1949, after considering his record, both as an indiscriminating Wall Street lawyer and as an attaché of the State Department, decided to return him to private life. The Republican Party is badly off indeed if Mr. Dulles is the only man of its political persuasion whom it regards as qualified to represent it in the spirit of non-partisanship in foreign affairs. Former Senator John S. Cooper, of Kentucky, had already been wisely chosen by the President as an estimable Republican experienced in public affairs who would serve with credit as a counselor in international affairs. Mr. Cooper's selection was widely acclaimed, not only by Republicans but by Democrats. In resuscitating Mr. Dulles as a collaborator, the Administration has done neither itself nor the country any good. Surely the Republican Party cannot be so bankrupt that it could not suggest, as a second to Mr. Cooper, a man who would disdain to plead the statute of limitations as a defense in a case in which the indictment charged him with "engaging in a conspiracy to loot, defraud, overreach and mismanage."

It has even been rumored that Secretary Acheson persuaded the President to make Dulles an Assistant Secretary of State at some appropriate moment, or even Undersecretary, if Mr. Webb, the present incumbent, should decide to retire. It would be going overboard with a vengeance to give Mr. Dulles such power with respect to policy and personnel as would be involved if

he should be appointed to one of the permanent high posts in the Department of State.

The cunning hand of Governor Dewey may have had something to do with this latest move involving Dulles. It seems more than probable that Mr. Dewey will be a candidate to succeed himself. In order to put on the strongest campaign possible, it is believed in some quarters that he is considering the nomination of General "Wild Bill" Donovan as the Republican candidate for Senator. Such a nomination would have a strong appeal to the important Catholic vote in New York State. But, in order to nominate Donovan, Mr. Dulles, who undoubtedly has felt that he has the call this year on his party nomination for the Senate, had to be disposed of in some manner that would not offend either him or his friends. Accordingly, he was taken up on the high mountain and offered a position to his liking in the State Department. Now, if Mr. Dulles still has any desire to be the nominee of his party for Senator this year, Governor Dewey will use all of his persuasiveness to convince him that not even as Senator could he hope to be of such service to Dulles and Dulles' interests as it is possible for him to be in his present position.

On the other hand, it is to be wondered why the Truman Administration went to the length that it did to defeat Dulles for Senator in New York in 1949 since it is now trying hard to rehabilitate him in public estimation by associating him with the State Department as adviser. It might even be inferred that the purpose is to build Mr. Dulles up again as a candidate for Senator. It would be interesting if Mr. Dulles should insist that it is his right to be the party candidate again this year. In that case, the ambitious and conniving Dewey might have to yield. Then, if Senator Lehman should be re-nominated by the Democrats, as is probable, the situation in New York with respect to the Senatorial candidates would be what it was in 1949. It would again be Lehman versus Dulles. If that happened the voters of New York might very properly ask the question: "Why do you seek to persuade us to defeat again in 1950 the man whom the Administration regards so highly that it made him an adviser to the State Department? In view of the Administration's strange preference for Dulles, resulting in its whitewashing of him, what assurance would there be that, if we should defeat Dulles again, the Democratic Administration at Washington would not give him an even more significant appointment?"

If he was not fit to be a Senator, and in my view he was not, how can it be argued that he is qualified to be either adviser to the Secretary of State, or Assistant Secretary, or Undersecretary?

HAROLD L. ICKES

BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE UNION AND THE CONFEDERACY: TWO MODERN VIEWS

THE ENDURING COMPROMISE

by V. O. Key Jr.

NOT LONG SINCE, writers on American politics ranked our political institutions among our less notable achievements. For some reason our inventive genius had failed to contrive governmental gadgets adequate for our purposes. The Presidential system, according to the prevailing argument, deserved no commendation. It prevented accountability

THE PRICE OF UNION, by Herbert Agar (Houghton Mifflin; \$5).

for administration. Irresponsible legislative leadership was, of necessity, the rule. The system assured division of initiative between President and Congress. It institutionalized bickering between executive and legislator and created conditions conducive only to legislative blackmail of the executive by Congressional demands for patronage and other favors. All this led to a prescription for the importation of the British cabinet system, if not lock-stock-and-barrel, at least in some modified form. Nor could much sense be made of our party system. No people in its right mind would tolerate political parties concerned primarily with getting into office. We should have parties, so the argument ran, that stood for something, perhaps conservative and liberal parties with clear-cut differences so that we could know what we were voting for. All in all, the interpreters of the American political system were driven to explain its survival by occasional acts of divine interposition which occurred, fortunately, at moments when they would do the most good.

Of late, a new interpretation of the American political order has come into vogue. It came gradually to be perceived that a political system that withstood the internal stresses and strains in the governance of a nation of continental proportions while others fell into ruins might have undiscerned elements of

strength. Those elements of strength turned out to be the characteristics formerly regarded as political absurdities. Our erstwhile constitutional sins become positive virtues. Herbert Agar has rewritten American political history in the new vein; his 1950 estimate of our political arrangements departs from his gloomy conclusions of 1933 in *The People's Choice*. In his reorientation he has evidently borrowed heavily from the writings of political scientists such as Pendleton Herring's *The Politics of Democracy* and W. E. Binkley's *President and Congress*. And Calhoun's doctrine of concurrent majorities receives more than a passing nod.

The price of unity in a continental nation, Agar contends, is to water down by compromise "the selfish demands of regions, races, classes, business associations, into a national policy which will alienate no major group and which will contain at least a small plum for everybody." The parties are the active instruments in the complex process of formation of majorities and of negotiation of consent from our veto groups. And from the nature of the process, party policies must be ambiguous, leaving the way open for compromise; party leaders must at times suppress or postpone issues, lest internal stress become unbearable. In all this illogical politics there is strength, for "when the people begin to divide according to reason, with all the voters in one party who believe one way, the federal structure is strained." The delays and circumlocutions of an irrational politics permit a search for the unity of common ground.

In a party system built of leaders serving as ambassadors for sectional and other special interests the Presidency fares well in comparison with the cabinet executive. With powers and tenure independent of the legislature, the President can rise above the parochialism of Congress and whip the demands of particularism into a program approaching the national interest. He can

(Continued on page 18)

THE DAVIS ADMINISTRATION

by J. G. Randall

IN THIS, the leading book on the Confederacy, so recognized at the moment of publication, the theme is not swords and roses, nor gold spurs. With campaigns reduced to thumbnail summary, the author gives, as nearly as may be in about 600 pages, the whole wartime saga of Southern civilization. Promoters of secession—those who swept the South into the adventure in separatism—did not function as leaders of the Confederacy. In the thick of war the statesmanship of Rhett, Yancey and their like was negligible. Political organization at the outset proved easy, indeed a bit too easy. It was not difficult to make (or take over in large part) a constitution, to set up a provisional and then a "permanent" government, to

THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA, 1861-1865, by E. Merton Coulter. A History of the South: Vol. VII (Louisiana State University Press; \$7).

make a flag, locate and relocate a capital, and set on foot a cabinet and a bureaucracy. These things were done while Southerners still thought in terms of a short war.

The tasks of administration were what came hard. Taxes were "partial, unequal . . . complex" and "widely evaded." Paper-money difficulties proved too much for the Secretary of the Treasury (Memminger), who resigned in 1864. Lack of gold was a basic factor, but even if specie had been available, the currency system would still have been hampered by doubts as to the permanency of the Confederacy. The complications of prices, profits, extortion, speculation and foreign trade made up the composite of an economic regime that simply did not click. Cotton was the South's great solid element of wealth, but its highly advertised magic proved illusory.

In the foreign field hopes for inter-

FREEDOM AND PLANNING IN AUSTRALIA



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vention, or even recognition, were doomed to utter disappointment. In 1863 the unsuccessful Mason was withdrawn from London, British consuls were expelled from Southern cities, and the British government prevented the Confederacy from obtaining the iron-clad rams for which Captain Bulloch had made arrangements. (Yet one still hears the shockingly incorrect statement that Britain "intervened" for the Confederacy. Tell that to Jefferson Davis!) In this connection one wonders why the Trent case should ever have been called a "diplomatic defeat for the United States" (p. 187). It was a notable Union success in precisely the field for which diplomacy is intended.

With all its difficulties the Confederacy was a going concern. It was not particularly efficient, but it carried its head high. It managed to rub through its four years without two things which to us today seem indispensable: the Confederacy had no party nominations for President, and no Supreme Court. Its constitution provided for such a tribunal, but none was ever established. Military difficulties piled up. Conscription, writes Coulter, was "a failure." *Esprit de corps* among Southern officers was low. Men chose their officers. Re-enlistments were sought by an ill-devised system of bounties. Furloughs were so freely extended as to cause a woeful depletion in army ranks. The draft was evaded by devices that officialdom could not combat. No general strategy of the war was ever worked out. In morale the South's greatest asset was Lee; the unbending and dyspeptic Jefferson Davis lacked the qualities for his cruelly bitter position. Over all was the war mind with its unreality, rumor, grandiloquence and ungodly hatred. (Some Confederates, however, felt that Yankee baseness was exaggerated.)

To read of the Confederacy is to read of multi-form problems, or, as we would say, headaches—blockade running (not much help to the cause), a post-office department which paid for itself by giving little or no service, internal dissension, state rights v. nationalism, privateering, prisoners, "Kirby-Smithdom" (trans-Mississippi schemes), the dread of servile insurrection that never came, delayed efforts to use Negro troops, martial law, ferocious assaults on Jeffer-

son Davis, petty leaders who "siphoned off the enthusiasm that should have been labeled Confederate," desertion, and a Congress that proved, as Coulter says, "a disappointment." All these things, and in addition such humanitarian or cultural subjects as relief, the fine arts and literary activities are set forth with competence and rich detail. The book should not be criticized because of a few (very few) minor errors, nor because it does not include everything. Perhaps it might have been well to refute the concept (found elsewhere) that Lincoln denied peace, and the treatment of Unionism in the South could have been strengthened by use of the newly opened Lincoln papers.

The able performance of the author is revealed in his remarkable mastery of the sources and in a vivid, readable style. There is also the boon of humor, which proves a great help to a reader following so formidable a subject. Coulter treats the Confederacy and the Southern people in wartime both critically and sympathetically. He makes the reader aware of blunders and inadequacies, but in his closing paragraphs he shows the nobility of men who sacrificed all for an ideal "more dear to them than life itself."

J. G. Randall, professor of History at the University of Illinois, is the author of *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, *Lincoln the President* and other books and articles on Lincoln and the Civil War.

(Continued from page 17)

provide stability, unembarrassed by the absolute necessity of maintaining a legislative majority. At times of crisis he can take unto himself powers necessary for the preservation of the union.

Of the infelicities of our political practices Agar is well aware, but delay, indecision and evasiveness are the price of union. "Yet no matter how high one puts the price of federal union, it is small compared to the price which other continents have paid for disunion, and for the little national states in which parties of principle can live (or more often die) for their clearly defined causes."

Such is the general theme on which Agar builds the story of American politics. His detailed account ends with 1909; the events since that time are touched lightly as "some modern instances" of the principal argument. His

work must be regarded as a magnificent accomplishment. Well designed in its grand outlines, it preserves a meticulous regard for relevant detail. Lucidly written, it will be read for decades by those in quest of an understanding of the peculiarities of the American political order.

V. O. Key Jr., the author of *Southern Politics*, is a professor of Government at Yale.

GIFT OF LAUGHTER

THE LADY'S NOT FOR BURNING, by Christopher Fry (Oxford University Press; \$2.50).

THE CHEERS with which London playgoers and critics have greeted the poetic dramas of Christopher Fry have been echoing in American ears for some months. This 43-year-old British poet who was almost unknown even in his own country a year ago has since then seen four of his plays become hits in London's West End. One of them was commissioned by Sir Laurence Olivier, and, as a final note of recognition, James Bridie, writing in the *New Statesman and Nation* recently, observed that the English theatre today is "on the point of removing [from the Shaw era] into the era of Christopher Fry." The first of the Fry successes is now presented to the American public in book form, prior to a promised Broadway production next fall.

On the evidence of the printed version of "The Lady's Not for Burning," it is easy to understand Fry's popularity. Probably no English-speaking dramatist since the Elizabethans (to whom Fry owes a large and conspicuous debt) has been able to send up such a blinding display of poetic fireworks and at the same time to keep the stage and the dramatic situation so firmly in hand. "The Lady's Not for Burning" is entertaining to read, but obviously it would be still more entertaining to see: the rhetoric and the metaphors cry to be spoken; the scenes demand to be acted.

Still the idea of a "Fry era" in playwriting is disquieting. Fry, at least in this play, is an eclectic oddity whom it would be pointless as well as dangerous to try to imitate. He triumphs in his eclecticism, but the mixture in other hands would very likely result in a disastrous hodgepodge. For Fry adds to sixteenth-century poetic prodigality

more than a touch of seventeenth-century preoccupation with the grotesque and the metaphysical and perhaps a whisper of eighteenth-century artificiality and precision, holding the three together with a hard core of practical wit that might be termed Victorian, since the writer it most readily calls to mind is Lewis Carroll. In fact, through large sections of "The Lady's Not for Burning" this reader got the impression that it resembles more than anything else an unexpectedly successful crossing of "The Duchess of Malfi" with *Through the Looking Glass*. A genuine fifteenth-century witch hunt is in full cry outside the windows, a young man claims to have murdered his brother in a bed of daffodils, and the hero demands to be hanged—partly, it is true, in a quixotic attempt to divert attention from the witch, but also partly because he is convinced of the futility and staleness of life. Here is Webster's extravagance, a persistent echoing of his obsession with dung and decay, and here would be his horror, too, if the characters did not regard their situations with the logic of the White King. "Can I have your name?" a young clerk asks the hero. "It's yours," he instantly replies, and then goes on:

It's no earthly
Use to me. I travel light; as light,
That is, as a man can travel who will
Still carry his body around because
Of its sentimental value. Flesh
Weighs like a thousand years, and every
morning
Wakes heavier for an intake of uproar-
iously
Comical dreams which smell of henbane.

"The Lady's Not for Burning" has both wit and humor; it is thus a very funny play. It is also exciting, as poetry can be exciting. The plot does not matter, any more than it matters in "The Duchess" or *Alice*. (From the start it is clear that the witch will be spared and that, being young, beautiful and brilliant, she will persuade the hero to forgo death for a life with her.) The language, the characters, the situations, are everything. This is in no sense a difficult or obscure play or, I think, a profound one. It has lines which are wonderfully apt and illuminating, for our own age or any other; it has the gift of laughter. And I believe this is all that Fry intended.

ANNE L. GOODMAN



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BRIEF COMMENT

Meat and Man, by Lewis Corey (Viking; \$4.50).

It is unfortunate that this book is written in a rather dull, flat style that tends to deter rather than attract the reader. For it is well organized and brings together a host of facts about the meat-packing industry. It has, in addition, more positive virtues. For one thing, an adequate amount of space is devoted to the history and present status of labor organization in meat packing, a subject which is skimmed or neglected altogether in most industrial studies. In fact, Corey's interest in the industry was first aroused by discussions with officers of the Amalgamated Butcher Workmen, AFL, and much of his book—especially, of course, the labor sections—is based on material made available by that union. Corey perhaps relies too exclusively on this source. His account of the controversy in 1948 between the Amalgamated and the United Packinghouse Workers, CIO, would have seemed much fairer if he had shown any evidence that he had studied the UPWA-CIO side as thoroughly as that of their AFL rivals.

Another merit of the book is its consideration of meat in relation to the rest of the food supply and its imaginative (possibly overimaginative) look into the future, when steaks won't be cut off a sirloin of beef, but will come out of a test tube. This prospect does not seem to alarm Corey, but it may depress his readers.

Most interesting is the author's suggestion for dealing with monopoly in the industry. He proposes the establishment of four government-owned corporations to take over the business of the "Big Four"—the Armour, Swift, Wilson and Cudahy companies. These would not only provide a yardstick for the smaller firms which would remain privately owned; they would compete with one another, and in so doing, devise new, improved methods of operation. This scheme seems Utopian: it is hard to believe that the administrators of one government-owned corporation would be anxious to show up its rivals through superior efficiency. It would be safer not to provoke a competition that might be lost, so that the tendency would be for the government firms to go at the same pace.

In any case, and especially in view of Corey's own statement that the power of the big packers has been largely limited by the 1922 Consent Decree (which forced packers out of retail trade and the ownership of stockyards) and the growing ability of the medium-sized firms to compete with them, it does appear as if he is compounding remedies for a non-existent malady. The general point that Corey makes, however, is important, for

he recognizes that "competition" in the classic sense is no remedy for the ills of monopoly in the case of a mass-production industry. Such an industry, by its very nature, is bound to consist of relatively few firms, and fewness is usually incompatible with competition. Therefore some other corrective must be found—as, for example, public regulation.

THEODORE NORMAN

I, My Ancestor, by Nancy Wilson Ross (Random House; \$3.50).

Nancy Ross may be remembered as a writer who hit the jackpot in 1947 with a novel called *The Left Hand Is the Dreamer*. The present book may miss, but it is a highly finished candidate for just that kind of success. First of all it is a terribly *knowing* book. A meticulous—almost obsessive—attention to details (opening doors, shutting them again, clothes, addresses, interiors, brand names, etc.) proves familiarity with the contemporary milieu. More important, an easy command of a number of "subjects"—notably psychoanalysis—which are but half-grasped by the usual fiction reader establishes a "thinking" tone and gives an impression somewhere in the background of a lively and compassionate intelligence.

The narrative follows the nervous collapse of a young "executive" in New York. After prolonged psychiatric treatment, he travels to the Pacific Northwest to visit his erratic father, who has withdrawn to an island in those parts. The father, a larger-than-life-size hero—Good Man, Prophet, Hermit—plays his role successfully in the rehabilitation of his son.

The most oppressive thing about the book is the interminable talk. The central character, in his unstrung state, is prone—nay, urged—to run off at the mouth. The psychiatrist, of course, is the fount of a lot of general observation and specific wisdom. And finally the father, like so many hermits, proves excessively verbose when given the chance. All this is particularly fatiguing because the talk—didactic, theoretic, preachy—has nothing to do with the stock characters; they don't speak the words, but carry the load of them.

The Vintage, by Anthony West (Houghton Mifflin; \$3).

Anthony West's novel has won the Houghton Mifflin Literary Fellowship Prize and, in England, the Eyre and Spottiswoode Award. But even such successes are hardly commensurate with the ambitions of this book.

A British colonel, serving on the War Crimes Commission in Germany, successfully fixes a prominent Nazi on the gallows and then blows his own brains out. The matter of the book is his restless and tortured wanderings beyond the

grave, reviewing his whole life, revealing his wordly, sensual values, and meeting again a number of the people—mostly women—who were the victims of his ruthless selfishness.

The problem of constructing a con-

vincing eternity is that there is very little precedent to guide the novelist and prepare the reader. It is no severe criticism of West, therefore, that he has not succeeded, in his first novel, in rewriting the *Purgatorio*.

J. F.

MOVIES: Revivals, Rewrites and Imports

THE FIRST of Chaplin's "modern" pictures was "City Lights," shown originally in 1931. It is of average feature length, its sets, lighting and photography are technically comparable to those in present-day releases; it has a sound track, though no voice. The general movie audience can accept it as authentic entertainment, not merely as an antique drollery, and that is probably why it was picked this spring for a Broadway revival. Practical grounds aside, it was not the happiest choice. "City Lights" is the best thing on Broadway, but it is not the best of Chaplin.

Both in composition and in content, "City Lights" is a transition picture in Chaplin's career. It begins to break away from the farces of the indomitable, indestructible little tramp and turns toward the social comedy that is fully developed in "Monsieur Verdoux." Straddling two worlds, it is not quite successful in either. In construction, the picture is a group of traditional Chaplin comedies (they might have been called "The Drunk," "The Street Cleaner," "The Prize Ring," "The Night Club," etc.) held together by a love story that is maudlin to the point of being unseemly. When he is spinning one of the slapstick episodes, Chaplin is often superb. The prize fight is as fine comedy as he ever achieved in this manner; there are moments of unforgettable pantomime in the night club and at DSC headquarters. Other scenes have aged less well. Moreover, a collection of shorts, however good individually, works up into something less than a full-length picture. "City Lights" stops and starts too often to gain much momentum. And a generation raised on Freud may flinch at some of the love passages.

Everybody loves horses and almost everybody loves Bing Crosby, so "Riding High," in which Crosby loves a

horse, should do very nicely at the box office. Patrons should understand, however, that this picture will provide them with no stunning novelties. Not only is it the third filming to date of the late Mark Hellinger's "Broadway Bill"; facsimiles of this sentimental classic are offered on the screen at quarterly intervals. It is the one in which an amiable drifter's beloved plater wins the big race despite the villainies of organized betting and then falls dead at the foot of the judges' stand. The climax of "Riding High" is an equine funeral with honorary pallbearers and buglers.

Crosby, the most relaxed entertainer since Will Rogers, is in holiday mood and at the peak of his charm; he is assisted by James Gleason, Raymond Walburn and Coleen Gray, the last of whom has an embarrassing habit of breaking into a cakewalk for insufficient reason. There are several fair songs and one fine one—Stephen Foster's "Camptown Races."

J. Arthur Rank's best comedies lately have come from the hands of producer Michael Balcon. The series, as released here, began with "Passport to Pimlico," followed with "Tight Little Island," and is currently represented by "A Run for Your Money." This last seems to me less original and less hilarious than its predecessors, but they set a taxing standard and "A Run for Your Money" is as ingratiating a mix-up as you could reasonably demand.

The story concerns a couple of Welsh miners (Balcon has now covered all the British Isles except Ireland) who fall among thieves on a London weekend. A football match, a large sum of prize money and the mine director's bowler hat are strategic elements in the full-canter plot. The miners are played with attractive yokel innocence by Donald Houston and Meredith Edwards; Alec Guinness, now of "The Cocktail Party,"

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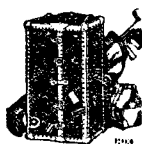
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New Republic

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is prissily funny as the garden editor of a popular London daily, a part that in this country would have been given to Clifton Webb.

The one thing that the distributors of the Polish film, "Border Street," should discourage is a comparison with *The Wall*, yet their advance promotion is full of references to the Hersey novel. *The Wall* is abounding with life, tough, humorous, broad in scope; "Border Street," on the same subject of the Warsaw ghetto, is small, sentimental, frivolous. It misses entirely the epic quality essential to an account of heroic death.

The producers of "Border Street" have cast their picture largely in terms of obvious types. The old religious Jew strokes his beard, dons his prayer shawl and rolls his eyes toward heaven; the young militant Jew parades his jaw and strikes a series of attitudes reminiscent of Soviet morale posters. The villain trims his mustache to Hitler proportions and rubs his hands in oily glee as he puts the screws on the noble doctor whose daughter has never suspected the Jewish taint in her blood.

The main action of the picture is carried out by a group of Jewish and Gentile children (one of whom looks surprisingly mature for short pants) and it is in connection with their cops-and-robbers adventures that the picture becomes frivolous. A little boy and girl on their way through the sewers into

the ghetto stumble upon a wounded SS police dog; they succor the beast, which apparently becomes an enthusiastic Zionist on the spot. The dog cleaves to his new masters, saves the little girl from the murderous wrath of his former master and, in a demonstration of spectacular intelligence at the climax of the picture, leads rescuers to a spot where he foresees his little friends will emerge from the burning ghetto. It is unseemly to introduce Rin-Tin-Tin into a story of genocide. Whatever the intentions of this picture may have been, the impression it gives is one of superficiality, bathos and a willingness to view human behavior in easy black and white.

"The Golden Twenties"—a March of Time assemblage of newsreel clips from Armistice Day, 1918, to the Wall Street crash of 1929—is an invitation to personal nostalgia. For anyone born much after 1910, the picture can be little more than a blur of half-identified faces; if you are old enough to have owned a collection of speakeasy cards, bits of the footage here and there will set in motion old and buried chains of association—at best a melancholy substitute for entertainment. As history, "The Golden Twenties" is meaningless; it is unorganized, carefully noncommittal, disengaged. You would get as much insight into the era of supreme foolishness from a collection of its old dance records.

ROBERT HATCH

ON THE AIR: Million-Dollar Toy

A NOISY HEADLINE in my afternoon newspaper proclaimed: "Parents Blame TV for Child Tantrums." It turned out that the story dealt with a preliminary tabulation of answers sent in by only 605 parents out of a total of 100,000 questioned on the effects of TV by the United Parents Association of New York. Furthermore, the emotionally disturbed kids counted to date numbered exactly 22. I think I'll manage to keep from going to pieces at least until the UPA releases results based on much more complete returns. But it is not so easy to overlook the warnings from ordinarily cooler heads that are in-

creasing both in quantity and intensity. Charles A. Siepmann, of New York University, started a recent article on TV by asking whether it is "toy or tool, instrument of enlightenment or instrument of cultural debasement." It is also for those like Professor Siepmann, who try to think responsibly, an instrument of torture.

Here speaks the chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, Wayne Coy:

"Degrading antics," "vulgar double entendres" and "downright indecency" are phrases we find in our letters of complaint [from TV viewers]. . . . The boy

who used to express himself with chalk on a wall is now provided with a television screen. The world has moved from the horse and buggy days to the electronic age, but this type of comedian is still peddling livery stable humor. The radio and television carry him straight into the home without having taken the precaution to see that he is house-broken. Propriety is sacrificed to profits. The result is off-color television—tainted television.

Mrs. Clara S. Logan, president of the Southern California Association for Better Radio and Television, reports on one week's TV programming in Los Angeles, evenings from six to nine (when the children are up):

Ninety-one murders, 7 stage holdups, 3 kidnappings, 10 thefts, 4 burglaries, 2 cases of arson, 2 jailbreaks . . . 2 suicides, 1 case of blackmail . . . assault and battery cases too numerous to tabulate. Also cases of attempted murder. Much of action takes place in saloons. Brawls too numerous to mention, also drunkenness. Crooked judges, crooked sheriffs, crooked juries.

Look at a discussion of "Radio and Society" in the *Monthly Letter* of the Royal Bank of Canada, where TV is about to get started:

Our brains are buzzing more than the brains of man ever buzzed before, and the scale of events around us has assumed a gigantic size. . . . The radio (and TV) enters this picture as an additional complicating force, because it distorts further our picture of the world by diminishing our opportunity to select and isolate the things to which we shall give attention. . . . Here is a collapse of values, a fantasia of effects that resembles the debris left by a storm.

In *Elementary English*, organ of the National Council of Teachers of English, there is an article by Professor Dallas W. Smythe, of the University of Illinois. Smythe sees TV extending into 38 million American homes at some date within the next 15 years. He sees also:

. . . The privilege of producing TV for the 38 million American families will be largely concentrated in the hands of those able to make profitable use of the four national networks on which individual TV stations will be forced by the economics of their operations to depend for the bulk of their programs. . . . The dangerous potential of TV . . . is the exposure of its viewers to the "engineering of their consent." Attitudes on every conceivable problem will be influenced. . . .

The Chicago *Daily News* shrieked:

Television at its best . . . provides stimulating, clean entertainment for children, keeps them out of trouble, broadens their thinking. . . . At its worst, television can occupy them for hours, harming their eyes, causing them to lose needed exercise, exposing them to crime, passion, brutality, vulgarity, and bringing on nightmares.

I place the *News* editorialist in the witness box only as a sample of the kind of loose thinking, mixing lay fancies with vaguely perceived facts, that's characteristic of so much discussion about TV and its real or imagined or potential effects. The soberer comments above, however, are worth pondering. I'm not worried about the neurotic children of ill-trained parents who themselves managed to grow up in spite of addiction to dime novels. I am concerned with the fact that, so far, no one in a position to be effective is doing anything about the cultural and intellectual (and from Smythe's hint, political) implications of TV's widening influence.

Coy was subjected to abuse the moment he opened his mouth about vulgarity on TV, accused of trying to use the FCC for illegal (and unhealthy) censorship. Of course he tried to do nothing of the kind. Some of his critics (the *New York Times's* influential radio editor among them) went off at a tangent, challenging Coy to name the comedian at whose off-color stuff he had broadly hinted. As if spelling out Arthur Godfrey is important!

Mrs. Logan's group tried to get together with the TV broadcasters in Los Angeles to discuss the possibility of correcting the situation indicated in the West Coast survey. The officials at the TV stations not only refused to talk—they wouldn't even listen.

Smythe makes several suggestions. Among these is that teachers of the humanities "orient their pupils to the real world we live in," get them to listen to and look at broadcast material selectively, criticize knowingly. He adds: "It goes without saying that before they can teach such things, teachers should practice such rights and responsibilities themselves." But who'll teach the teachers? And must we wait that long?

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Gompers Revisited

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What Hope for World Government?

■ In a recent issue of the *New Republic*, Elmer Davis gave his reasons for believing that world government is not within the realm of the possible, or the desirable, in the light of present world conditions. Alan Cranston, president of United World Federalists, answers Mr. Davis in a statement, "Federalism and Faith, Mr. Davis!"—to which Mr. Davis gives his counter-rebuttal.

Good News about Your Heart

■ Heart trouble is the greatest killer among all diseases; 600,000 people die of it every year; one American in twenty is afflicted. Up to now, science has known almost nothing about the cause and prevention of most types of heart disease. Today, as Bruce Bliven reports in a forthcoming article, medical science has developed the most important clue ever recorded to the cause of the most deadly of all forms of heart trouble.

Is the Price of Steel Too High?

■ When the steel industry settled its recent strike, it promptly proceeded to raise its prices. Was this increase justified? What effect will it have on national prosperity? What has been happening to steel profits? What significant guess about the future has been made by the leaders of the industry? Louis Bean, distinguished Washington economist, answers these questions in an article to appear soon.

Manners and Morals: 1950

■ What is the real significance of the Kinsey Report? Of the popularity of Ayn Rand's "The Fountainhead"? Or the revival of interest in F. Scott Fitzgerald? Why does this country need "a good five-cent ideology"? What changes are being brought about by the increase in working women? By the reevaluation of the "success system"? These and other matters are discussed by Dr. Clyde Kluckhohn, brilliant Harvard anthropologist, in a forthcoming article.

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